

FREEDOM

NEW SERIES, VOL. I, No. 4

JANUARY 23, 1933

FIVE CENTS

RECENT SOCIAL TRENDS

With the approach of March 4th and the unemployment of Mr. Hoover there is a tendency and a temptation to appraise his work for the past four years. For ourselves we have no such intention. All presidents look alike to us even if some are a little more human than others. In 1928 many liberals, and even some who thought themselves radical, got all "het up" over Al. Smith, completely overlooking his close connections with the Raskob type of Democrat and the Catholic Church.

We take it that a man can be an anarchist without wanting to throw bricks through the windows of Relief Stations where hungry men and women are being fed, as described by Ammon Hennacy in our last issue. In other words, we recognize that presidents, like congressmen or plain working men and women are controlled by the same forces, i.e., by the capitalist class of the country who are its real rulers, monopolizing as they do, the means of life. They control all of us to a greater or lesser extent. When times are good, that is, fairly good, with the majority of men and women working and earning enough to live on and leave some of them enough to gamble on the Stock Exchange it was next to impossible to create enough interest to publish a paper such as FREEDOM. Then the Socialists polled a few votes that they were a joke. As for the communists, they ranked with us in unimportance—which says much and little. Four years later many of those who were bit in Wall Street returned to their first love, and Socialists and Communists trebled or quadrupled their vote. This is the logic of events, as we see it: when the capitalist class manages to keep the machine going it controls our lives and when it has a breakdown in the middle of the road it still controls us. This is as true of Herbert Hoover as it was of his predecessors and would have been just as true of the defeated candidates if they had been the successful ones. In spite of all this, however, we have observed the activities of Hoover as secretary of commerce and as president of the United States and can truthfully say that as president he lived up to his promise as secretary of commerce.

Acting on the principle that theories must be based upon facts we want, and have wanted to know for a long time the details of government, the better to understand how it functions. In appraising the work of Hoover for the past four years we can say that, in our opinion, the only really worth while thing done by him during that time was his appointment of the Wickersham Commission and the one headed by Professor William F. Ogburn, Director of Research, who have just given us their findings consisting of two volumes, a total of 1,600 pages, on "Recent Social Trends" in the U. S. Hoover ran true to form when he tried to hamstring the report of the Wickersham Commission by suppressing it and misrepresenting its findings but in vain, for even the part of the report dealing with Mooney and Billings came to light. Even if Mooney and Billings are still in prison millions of people throughout the world know that they are innocent and why they are kept there. Had Hoover been reelected it is, if past performances prove anything, more than probable he would have tried to suppress or vitiate the report of the Re-

search Committee. As it is we have the report and it is an epoch making document; and its findings will serve as a basis for those desiring a change in the social structure for a long time to come.

Reading the 30,000 word summary of the report, published on January 2d as a special supplement to *The New York Times*, it is possible to have many of the theories of anarchists, socialists, communists, technocrats and others substantiated by facts and figures gained from a three years' study by 500 experts, backed by ample funds. Different schools of thought will arrive at different conclusions after a study of the report. It happens all too often that anarchists decline to listen to the facts submitted by other schools of thought merely because they differ with their conclusions. This is not only a mistake but a very unfortunate one.

The commission reports, for instance, that "of the great social organizations, two, the economic and the governmental, are growing at a rapid rate, while two other historic organizations, the church and the family, have declined in social significance, although not in human values." In other words, they found after an exhaustive study that the church and the family have declined in social significance and then they voice as an opinion, "although not in human values." One may or may not accept the opinion but if it is a fact that the church and family have declined in social significance that is most important, and we want to know or should want to know why? It is also important to know that the economic and governmental forces are growing at a rapid rate and why?

We know that life has become complex and so highly organized that the great mass of men and women oscillate helplessly and often hopelessly in the struggle to live. Many of them realize dimly that money is power and unless they have money they submit to gross injustice even in matters where a little spirit might help. As children they are taught every day in public and private schools subjects which bear no relation to the life around them. The result of this is that when the child grows old enough to take part in the life of the community he finds himself a total stranger to many of its problems.

Forty years ago many of those striving for the shorter work day were of the opinion that more leisure meant more study and a higher order of intelligence and social outlook. On this all-important subject the committee says, "by virtue of commercialization, the problem of leisure is bound up with purchasing. Not only are automobiles, radios, and theatre tickets, but also many objects of household decoration or personal adornment are bought to make leisure hours more enjoyable. By way of evidence concerning our national scale of values, consider the following miscellaneous list of American expenditures in 1929; 200 million dollars were spent on flowers and shrubs, 600 million on jewelry and silverware, 400 million on newspapers, 700 million dollars on cosmetics and beauty parlors, 900 million on games and sports, 2,000 million on motion pictures and concerts, and 4,000 million on home furnishings. The outlays upon some items in this list have been heavily cut during

the depression; but there is little doubt that expenditures upon recreations and indulgences of many kinds will tend to rise in the future as per capita income grows. Study of family budgets shows that as available income rises, smaller percentages of the total are spent on such essentials as food, rent, fuel and light, while larger percentages are spent on miscellaneous items. These facts concerning present expenditures contain a forecast of changes in the allocations of average family budgets in the future."

When a people can spend 18 per cent of its total income on recreation, tobacco and cosmetics it is plain that work has ceased to have any pleasure left in it, that workers are bored with their tasks and that the creative side of life is practically nonexistent for the great mass of the people. In the midst of the agitation for the 30-hour week we find those engaged in organizing recreation for the mass dreaming of the pots of gold awaiting them when the glad time comes. Perhaps, they are not only dreaming but working for it, for they know that more leisure means more commercialized recreation or amusement. When people are poor or work long hours they must take their amusements vicariously, so here is a good ally for the shorter workday. It is of a piece with the European governments liberalizing the passport laws because it makes for tourists, and that is good business. Human rights and liberties are forgotten or ignored, but the tradesmen and business men are always remembered.

While it is extremely doubtful whether the ruling class has deliberately created this situation, the fact remains nevertheless that such a gigantic industry with all its ramifications and catering to millions and millions of men and women acts as a safety valve for the present rulers of society. It is a sedative for the people and prevents them from thinking of other and more serious matters. With more leisure on their hands and money as the standard of success it is certain that "crime" must go on indefinitely. In fact, the commission is pessimistic on the subject, for, they say, "A society without crime appears more remote than a society without poverty." This we think is because they fail to realize that the vast majority of "crime" deals with property and as they are unwilling or unable to see a change in the property relation they are unable to see a lessening of crime. The "crimes" of passion, due to jealousy, race prejudices or those of a similar nature are significant when compared with "crimes" of property. At any rate, the curative arts and sciences are fast learning how to deal with them. If we can solve the problem of poverty it is certain that we will have little or no difficulty in solving the other. They admit that "to a certain extent crime is a creation of the changing regulations of society and of the attempts to enforce them. The more rules there are to break the larger is the number broken. Much law breaking arises, for instance, in the attempt to prohibit or regulate gambling, prostitution, or selling intoxicating beverages. The number of criminal laws is increasing. There has been a growth of about 40 per cent in the 30 years from 1900 to 1930 in selected states as measured by sections in their criminal codes."

(Continued on page 4)

German Trade Unionism Turns to the Right

By A. SOUCHY

(Continued from the Jan. 9 issue)

In view of the service of the Social Democratic Party and the Labor Unions in behalf of the reconstruction of German capitalism in the past, one need have no doubts that the Labor Unions will remain true to their role as defenders of capitalism in the future. The ever recurring press accounts of the conferences of General Schleicher, the present Reichs Councillor (Prime Minister) with the Labor Unions and their leaders are not made out of whole cloth. As recently as July 30, 1932, a consultation of the Papen regime with the leaders of the Unions took place; and further discussions were held later.

The attitude of the Labor Unions has recently become more and more nationalistic and one need not be at all astonished if they should conclude a civil truce Schleicher, just as, in 1914, at the outbreak of the World War, they arranged a truce with German militarism. The Labor Unions will be recognized as the authorized representatives of the working class, their perfect functioning organization will be used in the service of the State and once again the Social Democratic Party will subordinate the fight for socialism. One might write an epitaph for the history of the Labor Unions: "Everything forgotten and nothing learned."

The general tone of Party and the Labor Union press today makes it more and more a certainty that the Labor Unions will not hesitate to travel this path. On the one hand, the answer of the Labor Unions to Schleicher is praised; on the other hand, Paul Loebe, the present editor-in-chief of the "Vorwärts" former Reichs president for many years, seeks, through eloquent and radical sounding articles, to create the impression that *Sozial Demokratie*—trailing Labor Unionism along as its baggage train—fights now, as before, against Fascism. As a mat-

ter of fact the demands the Labor Unions made upon Schleicher, bear witness not only to the organizing abilities of the Unions, but also to the extraordinary pliancy of their representatives. After they had shown by sworn statistics, through the regular functioning of their organization, that the emergency measure of Papen gave the employer a respite from his tax burdens without bringing about the hoped for stimulation to industry, they demanded the use of these taxes for public works, and they also asked for a law shortening the weekly work time to 40 hours. If Schleicher grants these demands, and if he promises to repeal the law decreasing social taxes, to aid the unemployed during the winter, then the unions are prepared to be satisfied with the Schleicher government and to conclude a peace with it.

All the beautiful theories of the industrial democracy and the building up of socialism within the capitalistic state bow down and courtesy before this weak general who was picked by the national socialists as their defense minister.

Regarding this attitude of the Labor Unions, there is every reason to be pessimistic as to the future. And yet there is no reason for despair. Germany is not a land of extremes. The "Folk of the Thinker and Poet" are not fond of cutting the Gordian knot; they prefer to unravel it. Just as the Revolution of 1918 only moved half way, so indeed will Fascism not go the whole way. All signs indicate that Fascism will be forced to turn back before it reaches its goal.

There will then be a period of Democracy, of hesitations and delays of undecided parties. Will the Proletariat finally become conscious of its destiny and prepare itself seriously by a new Revolution to usher in a new dawn?

Translated by Eugene Bloch

SLAVE! and BUY!

By M. JAGENDORF

On one side stretched the ever singing sea; in the vast blue of the sky shone a warm sun, both with generous grace and majesty. Both were full of happy and health giving beauty, free to all who would take. On the other side, separated by symmetrical wooden boards, arranged and nailed by half-witted, slave minded men, stretched, as far as the eye could reach, an octopus in the form of endless, multicolored stores. Every size, shape and color, with every conceivable kind of merchandise. Mostly useless save to feed poisonous avarice and vanity. And from each cell of the beast came croaking hoarse voices shouting "Buy! Buy! Buy!" Buy what you do not need! Slave! So you can earn and buy! It was a malicious spitting in the face of the free sunshine, the pure fine spring air, and the sea.

Stores and Stores and Stores! Buy and Buy and Buy! It was as never ceasing as the roaring of the sea. Monotonous in its variety of cajoling to tempt poor benighted imbecils to Buy. And of course you cannot buy unless you slave for it. Slavery hidden cunningly behind avarice, man, little pride, and a mumbo jumbo fetish of possession.

Have you read Kipling's Boots, boots, boots? A like poem could be composed about the Atlantic City boardwalk on the theme of "Stores, stores, stores!

Buy, buy, buy!" With even a more horrible motive than the tale of pitiful soldiers. For a soldier goes to die, but men go to slavery.

There is a jesuitical diabolicity in the snarling coaxing of these auctioneers and shopkeepers extolling their worthless gee gaws; in these human befuddled decoys who lure the dumb passing bipeds into the lair and fleece them of the money for which they have slaved. And in the good orthodox books this stinking cancerous growth of commercialism is called the glory of our country. This enslavement by lapidary excretions, vomitings of ornaments of every color and description is called progress and wealth of our nation. This hoarding and bedecking of the psychodermatous, carotly colored, most perfect example of civilization for the sake of outshining and beating one's neighbor, is considered advancement in life.

And the great tragedy is that there is a never ending stream of arrogant hoarding, pitiless men and women going and coming and buying.

Only the mad fury of the elements like the sea or fire or an earthquake could adequately clean this Augean stable of commercialism, that wailing wall of propriety.

Picked Up Here and There

By CARL NOLD

We have all heard of the celebrated German Bismark Herring. But what is a Hitler Herring? "One with the mouth wide open and the brain extracted."

When at a New York Press Association banquet, John Swinton was asked to give a toast to the "Independent Press," he did it with these words:

"What folly, to give a toast to an independent press! Indeed, we are the tools and the vassals of the rich, who are behind the scenes. We are the puppets. They pull the string and we dance. Our time, our talents, our lives, our opinions, all belong to other people. We are prostitutes of the mind."

This was fifty years ago and more than ever true today.

It is hell all around. A fellow can't even commit suicide these days. You can't jump into the river, because the river is frozen; no money to buy a rope, and the most beautiful death by turning on the gas is out of question. The Gas Company turned that off months ago.

When four workingmen's parties continually yell "Proletarians of all countries unite," and then set up three presidential candidates, it looks as if the words of Karl Marx have become a joke.

The older I get, the more I feel inclined to be tolerant, but if anyone steps intentionally on my toes, I am still liable to get mad.

General Litzmann, pensioned, speaking in the German Reichstag: "... the distress of the times has grown so keen that in Berlin 193 persons committed suicide last month." Interrupted a Red, "Ya, 193 persons—but not one pensioned general among them!"

History proves conclusively that 90 per cent of all laws are made by a minority for protecting a minority; the majority can go to hell.

"It is wonderful with how little brain the nations are governed." And it is more wonderful that they tolerate it.

Heard in the Breadline:

"Where are you living, Jim?"

"Bush 38, City Park."

Quotation from a letter from Russia:

"An American breadline is still better than a job in Russia."

How Times Change!

On May 1, 1886, I marched in New York for the eight-hour day and did not get it; today I work but seven hours a day and one day a week, and did not even have to march or strike for it.

The Farmers Problem Solved

The man from the city stopped his auto in front of a farm house and asked for a bucket of water for the radiator. The farmer gave the order to his hired man and then started to complain about farm troubles.

"But it can't be that bad," suggested the man from the city. "I see you still have a hired man."

Said the farmer: "You see, it is this way: I don't pay him anything, he works for me until I owe him the value of the farm, then I work for him until I get it back again—"

"He who did not do anything all day long wants to have a little rest in the evening, at least."

A Step in the Evolution of Revolution

By S. W. SIMPSON

In several of our western States there is a fast-growing Barter movement that is carried on by means of a scrip currency that it is impossible to hoard. Indeed the need to make the scrip circulate speedily at the outset is the chief difficulty where the other necessary means of establishing it may be available; but that it is feasible is attested by the fast growth of the movement. In addition to the good this movement is doing for the disemployed and in the way of reviving dead enterprise, so making the activity command general attention, it ought to get the special attention of anarchists, of everyone seeking ways to a better civilization, as a lesson in the needlessness, even worthlessness, of political government. If our politicians wanted a better civilization they might have it overnight. If our reformers really wished to put a stop to grafting they should not waste their time and our hopes in devising new charters that can only change grafters or put them into offices with new names. When they enact the abolition of graft, which can be done almost at a stroke, they will put an end to grafting. But watch them do it. There are those, however, who fervently wish for a true civilization, and are willing to take both thought and pains in preparation for it; and to them this new movement seems to show a way.

Such history of this movement as the writer here-of can convey consists of no more than the scraps that have come to his notice quite by accident; but from the very first scrap, which was very small and told almost nothing, the thing has been strongly appealing to him. That first scrap was a short item in the *New York Times* last July telling of the sending to Mr. Hoover of a plan for costless doles. It was said to have originated with one Earl S. Barker of Chippewa Falls, Wis.; but probably he only adopted it from others. However, I never heard that Mr. Hoover paid any attention to it, though it might have been presented to Congress, which was in session at the time. (I guess it is not in Mr. Hoover's line.) I tried to promulgate it by addressing Governors and Congressmen—! Next I was given a copy of the *New Republic* of December 21 last. It contained a "communication" from Prof. Irving Fisher devoted wholly to describing and commending this scrip, and recounting such history of it as he knew. He referred to further accounts given in his new book *Booms and Depressions*, which I found added but little to his communication. (I am glad of having read the book, however; it is a good book, and it added to my respect and esteem for its author.) The book referred to an article in the *New Republic* of August 10 last by Hans R. L. Cohrssen and entitled "Wara," which means non-hoardable merchandise money. I got this article in the main reading-room of the public library. It said the Wara scrip originated with a Herr Hebecker, who owned an idle coal mine in Bavaria, in Schwanenkirchen, a hamlet of less than 500 inhabitants that was truly down and out. The mine-owner managed to borrow some thousands of marks to open up, and proposed to the miners to pay wages in Wara scrip. The miners agreed; and after the initial difficulties were overcome the scrip went so well and accomplished such wonders that the government outlawed it! That's what we get from political governments. The Reich was deflating by degrees, and this little-mine-owner was starting things by reflatting. (I intend to describe the scrip as fully as I can in a later paragraph; just now I am giving the sources of my information so that readers so moved may go to them for more.)

Among the general articles in the *New Republic* dated the fourth of the present month was one on Barter telling of the spread of this movement from its point of inception, a town in Colorado as I remember, to other places in the state and into Utah, and describing its *modus operandi*, the swiftness of its spread, the eager acceptance it gets, and the good it accomplishes. The wide and swift spread and the various claimants to the honor of having been the point of original departure are attestations of accomplishment. Finally, to finish my reference to sources of information, excepting a personal one and some news items that I may need to refer to, I wish to name a new book that lies before me, *The Abolition of Unemployment*, by Prof. Frank D. Graham of Princeton University. As yet I have read less than half of this book, which though it contains barely 100 pages is of such nature as compels me to "go slow." It has shown me enough, however, to relate it to the personal reference I have mentioned. That is to our comrade Jacob Baker, who had an article on Barter in the first issue of the new *FREEDOM*, and who is now the executive director of the Emergency Exchange Associations whose offices are at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City. This association is the first I know of to bring the movement of "self-help for the unemployed" to our metropolis. As explained to me by Comrade Baker and in mimeographed sheets he handed to me his association's project is a not-too-modest localized replica (or nearly that) of the grandiose affair by which Prof. Graham proposes in his book to abolish disemployment. He, Baker, and fifteen others of light and leading, one a woman, Edna Lonigan, formerly of this State's Labor Department, compose the Board of Directors of the new Exchange Association. Prof. Graham's first bare description of his plan occupies sixteen pages of his book. For our purpose now its first two sentences will suffice:

A national Emergency Employment Corporation, covering all consumers' goods at least, should arrange for the employment of all willing, and at present involuntarily idle, workers at the jobs for which they are equipped, and should pay them, according to their own choice, in the goods they themselves turn out. Such Corporation should, and could, make neither profits nor losses, but simply pay its own way.

That looks to me so large an order for private undertakers to begin with that I fear it will be long in filling; and the twenty-five numbered sections following, to outline the organization, set forth its formidableness. It seems to me that Baker's group and the other local units in the various States hold out the best prospect. If their success and their growth continue as is hoped they may it will be in order for them to federate into the great thing that Prof. Graham envisions. Let us therefore try to see and know just what these smaller beginnings are.

Baker's mimeograph points to the co-existent idle hands, machines, implements, houses, and raw materials, and the desperate men and women able and eager to use them. It aims to remedy this condition by organizing the disemployed into local neighborhood groups, which it will supply with tokens for use as media of exchange. "These tokens will be issued only for services rendered the Exchange or its members and will be redeemable in commodities produced by those services or in the labor of members of the Exchange." Implements and facilities, raw materials, all essentials for producing needed goods "will be made available, so that the unemployed will be able to produce and exchange goods and services with each other and with business and

professional men who have necessary goods or services to offer in return."

The Emergency Exchange Association now advising us is comparable to the Cooperative League, a center of propaganda leading and implementing the local exchanges, the method of organizing which it describes thus, though there will be variations:

Through friends, public and private relief agencies, technical societies, or other sources, the organizers obtain the names of perhaps 15 to 25 of the unemployed in the neighborhood. These should represent a variety of skills and wherever possible should include engineers, architects, craftsmen, and business men as well as unskilled labor. Spontaneously organized groups of unemployed in many cases present the most favorable opportunity for the creation of Exchanges, because they themselves have developed the will and determination to try to reinstate themselves as self-supporting members of their community.

The group should be called together and told that the purpose of the plan is to improve their standard of living by assisting them through the formation of a local or neighborhood unit; to exchange their services and the products of their labor with each other or with merchants, landlords, food dealers, doctors, or others, and with similar exchanges to be organized within distances which make exchange possible.

It should be explained to all groups of unemployed that The Mutual Exchange System does not undertake to supplant relief agencies, that this is a re-employment project, and that management and leadership must be found from the ranks of unemployed technical, professional, and business men.

The Emergency Exchange Association will undertake to assist the local exchanges to obtain necessary offices and storage space, and the means to pay for telephone bills, the printing of exchange tokens, and, if possible, an initial stock of raw material or finished goods to insure a commodity backing for the first exchange tokens issued.

Coincidentally with the beginning of these activities the unemployed should be able to begin to supply themselves with small quantities of food, clothing, and housing by exchanging their services for these commodities with local merchants and owners of real estate.

First as to foods: local butchers and grocers will be asked to take the services of members of the Exchange and to pay the Exchange in food products.

In the same way, local merchants will be asked to employ members of the Exchange and to pay in clothing. A limited number of sewing-machines may be rented or purchased and stocks of raw materials provided, so that members can be assigned to making women's dresses, overalls, or whatever proves to be practical. They will take their pay in tokens. The clothing along with the foods and other articles will go into the Exchange store, to be sold as tokens are presented. The unemployed will then have clothing as well as their services to offer in return for food products.

These same principles will be applied to housing. Landlords who have vacant space and who cannot afford to pay for the labor necessary to maintain their buildings properly will be asked to take the services of carpenters, painters, plumbers, and other building tradesmen and to give housing in return.

A neighborhood or cooperative purchasing unit will be established where practical so that members of the Exchange with some cash resources may have the advantage of wholesale prices.

Similar Exchanges will be set up in rural communities. A rural Exchange will, of course, include many of the interchanges of services possible in urban communities; but the rural Exchange should have one commodity for export, namely food. More machines will then be set up in the city Exchanges, and a surplus of clothes produced for exchange with the rural community.

As far as possible trucks kept in repair and driven by the unemployed will be used for transportation. As the system expands, however, and coal, cotton, wool, cloth, furniture, and other necessities are produced under the barter system, funds for railway transportation will be necessary. Such charges as well as utility bills, insurance, and other necessary cash expenditures should be defrayed from funds now being dispensed by relief agencies, but instead of providing a dole these funds will then, in effect, be used to finance self-help enterprises of the unemployed.

(To be concluded)

FREEDOM

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The Manager's Notes

As these lines are being written the fourth number of FREEDOM is about nearing completion and ready to go to press. Those who know, or can imagine, the magnitude of our enterprise, with our limited forces thus far, have indeed cause for rejoicing, if not actual jubilation.

At the same time we must confess that a shadow of skepticism and a feeling of uncertainty are beginning to bite into the erstwhile enthusiasm of hopefulness of those who happen to be close to the problems and hard by the task.

But the tenacity of purpose on the part of the comrades who are resolved to carry out the will and the decision of the several English Propaganda Conferences as well as their implicit, as yet unshaken, faith in the numerous comrades and groups, will keep firing the enthusiasm of all those who are determined to go on with FREEDOM, and as a weekly.

Of course we have by now become fully aware of the difficulties and impediments which have to be faced and surmounted in connection with such a responsible undertaking and judging from the rather meager response of the comrades and sympathizers and from the indifference on the part of those who were regarded as FREEDOM's first and main line of defense we can only pray that the outlook become brighter—and soon.

The lack of response and the indifference are nothing short of a transgression or, to make it milder, injurious negligence on the part of all those who were counted and depended upon as subscribers, even before the venture had been launched, to say nothing at a time when the fourth issue is about to see the light. Most of the comrades who were counted and depended upon are as yet in the capacity of so-called curious spectators or friendly listeners, as it were.

Needless to stress an obvious point: a weekly publication, even very economically conducted, demands financial possibilities, substantial funds, and these must come primarily and chiefly from subscribers as the main source.

You must begin to stir and to act, comrades and friends! A wise man said—"There is a time to cast away stones and a time to gather stones together." Let us all, brick by brick and with concerted action, lay a solid foundation for this periodical of which our movement is in need. The foundation of FREEDOM must be subscribers and readers—an adequate number of them—by no means out of our reach, if we want FREEDOM to be a movement journal and on solid ground.

FREEDOM management will make every effort to avoid making appeals for contributions or donations, to abstain from sounding S.O.S.'s. We aim to concentrate our activity on creating a dependable, healthy readership for FREEDOM, and in this field of endeavor every comrade and sympathizer must do his bit, first *personally* and afterwards among his circles of friends and acquaintances. First *your own subscription*—then you will have courage and interest to approach others. And this has to be done right soon if FREEDOM is to live and grow.

As to contributions—well, they are not unwelcome; but every check for a subscription that reaches the office is a veritable source of new encouragement to those who are directly preoccupied with the task.

In conclusion. Strain yourself, if you must, and send in the sum for one year's subscription if you have not done it as yet. Spare FREEDOM the moments of emergency and a panting for breath which result in unpleasant appeals for contributions, which are ultimately mere hypodermic injections and at best make for a hectic existence.

Stand by FREEDOM and it will become the wholesome effective periodical of our movement.

At the last FREEDOM management meeting it was decided to devote the month of February to FREEDOM. In other words a FREEDOM MONTH.

During that month, it is expected, all friends and comrades, who desire to establish and to secure the existence of our publication, will dedicate some of their time and energy toward that end. Our goal for the time being is—2000 paid subscribers for FREEDOM!

Comradely and fraternal groups everywhere should set their own goal, their own quota, so to speak, and make it a pleasant duty to attain the goal. With all efforts united we may expect the month of February to be a history-making month for FREEDOM.

New York will have an affair February 12, half of the proceeds will go to FREEDOM, the remainder to the Modern School of Stelton, N. J.

Comrades and groups everywhere would do well to arrange similar affairs wherever possible during FREEDOM MONTH.

A Little Encouragement

From Los Angeles, old reliable Rose Pesotta writes:
Dear Comrades: Greetings!

We received your report to the Conference, and Tom Bell and myself accepted your suggestion and represented the FREEDOM.

You will receive an official report of the proceedings of the Conference shortly. I want to state here that the groups in Los Angeles and San Francisco greeted warmly the news that FREEDOM will appear weekly, and they pledged to support the publication, financially and morally, to the best of their abilities.

Before the paper arrived the local group had already arranged an affair, the proceeds to go to FREEDOM. Unfortunately most of us are unemployed at present and it is rather hard to raise big sums of money at such a time. However, we do not despair, for where there is a will there is a way, and the weekly will be an established fact.

Comradely,

January 3, 1933

Rose Pesotta

From Mangum, Oklahoma

Comrades:

A few days ago I received Vol. I, No. 1, of FREEDOM, the new weekly publication.

Enclosed find \$2.00 for a year's subscription. Hope you will be able to keep it going as a weekly.

Yours,

Lewis W. Sweet

Recent Social Trends

(Continued from page 1)

The commission sees clearly the burden laid upon education and says, "indeed, it may be said that the failures of coordination in modern life are attributable in no small measure to the tendency of human beings to fall into fixed habits and conservative attitudes. . . . The schools deal with the world of ideas as well as vocational training. They are centers of thought. What ideas shall be passed on may be an issue in the future when the full power and influence of communication inventions in dealing with mass stimuli are realized. Among Fascists, Communists, churches, patriots and social reformers it is already a matter of grave concern who shall control the ideas of the children."

Without mentioning the Technocrats they find themselves in agreement with many of their findings regarding the enormous influence of technological development and the unwillingness or inability of society to coordinate distribution with production. In conclusion, they say, "unless there can be a more impressive integration of social skills and fusing of social purposes than is revealed by recent trends, there can be no assurance that these alternatives with their accompaniments of violent revolution, dark periods of serious repression of libertarian and democratic forms, the proscription and loss of many useful elements in the present productive system can be averted."

At a recent meeting where the report was discussed the question was asked, "do you think the commission was impartial?" Our answer was and is, "we do not know, but it is more than probable that the men and women engaged in this research felt as most men and women do when engaged in creative work, they forget their instructions and often their prejudices and become absorbed in the thing itself, and in so doing often see the truth. Whether they were impartial or not is unimportant for the moment. They produced a work fraught with enormous significance and well worth the study of serious men and women seeking a way out of the frightful mess we are in. No one need accept their opinions or their proposed solutions, but as a fact finding commission they have produced a mass of data that confirms in almost every detail the claims made by anarchists, communists and socialists for years if not generations. Just as the Technocrats have been able for one reason or another to dramatize the opinions of many of us this commission, carrying with it the stamp of the most reactionary president and government we have had in many years, will go far towards making people see more clearly our point of view, especially if we approach them with the intelligence we are capable of and the zeal which should animate us.

H. K.

From Harrington, Delaware

Dear Comrades:

FREEDOM at hand and digested. I am very enthusiastic about it. I say this is what we need. I am also glad to note that editorially it is in about the safest hands and if our movement is worth its name I can see no reason why its existence should not be assured.

I will aim to help materially whenever I can. Find enclosed \$2.00; please enter my yearly subscription.

Wishing you an unlimited amount of endurance in this uneven task, I am

Fraternally yours,

Leonard Schwartz

(Continued on page 8)

Law Obedience a Stumbling Block

By AMMON A. HENNACY

Thousands of well meaning people in and out of the radical movement realizing the uselessness of war in settling disputes advocate disarmament, peace and goodwill in a general way but when asked about personally refusing to take part in the next war they commence to hem and haw and speak of "obeying the laws of the land."

Those of us who realize that "a bad law is no better than any other bad thing" must acknowledge the fact that nearly all of the influences brought to bear upon the mind of our youth instills this blind obedience to authority, whether it be governmental, ecclesiastical, academic, or parental. Much as we may preach our radical ideas if we neglect to produce the courage to break unjust laws all of our preaching will have borne but little fruit.

The very essence of the teachings of the early Jewish prophets and of Jesus and the early Christians was obedience to God rather than to man. We should challenge those who believe in the Bible to justify their subservience to present day authority in the light of the refusal of Daniel and the Hebrew Children to bow to the golden image in the plain; let us ask that church which claims to be founded upon the apostleship of Peter to explain away Peter's disobedience of man-made law and his fearlessness in preaching his message the next day after his release from prison. Does our oldest church—The Catholic Church—choose to follow Peter and "obey God rather than man?" Again the newest church among the Protestant sects; one that since the last war has given valuable international news and mouth service to the cause of Peace; how can this church—the Christian Science Church—justify the importance which it still gives, "to obey the law of the land" and support war when it comes; in the face of Mrs. Eddy's advice: "go if you must to the dungeon or the scaffold but take not back the words of truth?" Between these extremes we find the main Protestant churches allowing their individual members to go to jail rather than to war; and over 10,000 ministers signed a statement to the effect that they would personally refuse to take part in the next war.

That much of the pacifist opposition to war is mere sentimentality is shown by the fact that many preachers who preach peace allow the militaristic Boy Scouts to form groups in their churches. The pledge to the flag and country and the holding up of the soldier as the ideal does not mean peace. The Christian Science Monitor prints news of the progressive movement in education and otherwise in its Educational Page seeks to present the thought of peace. Yet it continues to carry special articles praising the Boy Scout movement and to carry illustrated advertisements of Military Schools.

Our High Schools and Colleges generally require students to read Thoreau's *Walden*; but very seldom does the graduate know that this same Thoreau wrote an "Essay on the Duty of Civil Disobedience"; nor that he refused to pay taxes to a church and to a state which upheld slavery, choosing rather to act on his statement that: "A prison is the only house in a slave state where a free man can abide with honor."

Wm. Lloyd Garrison is known by all students of history in our schools as the one man who fought slavery, and would be heard; yet very few students are told of the Declaration written by him and adopted at the Peace Convention in Boston in 1838 which stated the Anarchist position regarding the State and its laws as follows:

"We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government; neither can we oppose any such

government by a resort to physical force. . . . Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind. . . . The dogma, that all the governments of the world are approvingly ordained of God, and that the powers that be in the United States, in Russia, in Turkey, are in accordance with His will, is not less absurd than impious. . . . It cannot be affirmed that the powers that be, in any nation, are actuated by the spirit or guided by the example of Christ, in the treatment of enemies; therefore, they cannot be agreeable to the will of God; and therefore their overthrow, by a spiritual regeneration of their subjects is inevitable.

"As every human government is upheld by physical strength; and its laws are enforced virtually at the point of the bayonet, we cannot hold any office which imposes upon its incumbent the obligation to compel men to do right, on pain of imprisonment or death. We therefore voluntarily exclude ourselves from every legislative and judicial body and repudiate all human politics, worldly honors, and stations of authority. If we cannot occupy a seat in the legislature or on the bench, neither can we elect others to act as our substitutes in any such capacity."

Radicals jeer at the D.A.R. for refusing to follow the forefathers whom they claim to revere; yet how many pacifists or radicals who oppose war in general; and how many Christians who boast of ancestors active in the Underground Railway dare to follow the clear thinking of Garrison to the logical conclusion of actual refusal to support the state?

The following statement of Tolstoi presents the issue so well that I challenge any Christian to answer it: "A Christian, promising in advance to obey unconditionally the laws of men, admits by that promise that the inner law of God does not constitute for him the sole law of life."

Socialist officials in Milwaukee have boasted of the fact that no one broke the law and refused to register for the war in this Socialist city. Seymour Stedman in 1920 during the trial of the Socialist Assemblymen denied that any Socialists had refused to register for the draft, thus breaking the law; and specifically lied about certain Socialist comrades who had done just this thing. When Debs is lauded for going to prison and the young folks are told to obey the law and not get in trouble for fear of scaring votes away is it any wonder that there is not a virile Socialist movement?

When Einstein called upon two per cent of the people to say in advance that they would refuse to take part in the next war, the Communists, with their usual tactics of damning everything not directed from Moscow, called this a silly proposal. Earl Browder, who served in Leavenworth against the war, has a right to judge the efficacy of this proposed step, but most of those who now call themselves Communists, either, like Foster, sold Liberty Bonds, made munitions or sneaked out of trouble. If the young Communists were allowed to think for themselves they might evolve some tactics out of their surplus energy applicable to American conditions and be able to lead in war resistance, even against capitalist wars. By the time they commence action an edict from Moscow changes their direction.

If the spirit of the Socialists and the Communists and the Christians has been quenched by too much obedience to authority, that of the Anarchists has suffered in the other extreme. We have Kropotkin who supported the war and Berkman and Goldman who opposed it. We have Anarchists who follow, at least theoretically, Violence as a God. We criticize the church members for being concerned with the saving of their individual souls yet we become her-

mits in our own special interpretation of Anarchism and do not influence the thought of our times any better than those in the radical and religious movements whom we castigate. Let us popularize to the youth of America the essential facts in the history of this country proving that many of the truly great men in our history have chosen to disobey unjust laws. If we can bring but this one truth, which others have neglected, to their attention we will have laid a foundation stone towards not only our own growth but towards the new society which Kropotkin, Bakunin, Tolstoi, and our own Chicago martyrs have visioned.

A recent "History of Conscientious Objectors of the Civil War" issued by the U. of Pa. Press tells of many Quakers who refused to fight for the North or for the South, and who even refused to pay the \$300 required to hire a substitute. We have our Quaker President but where has the old spirit of the Quaker gone?

Alice Stone Blackwell tells of Ghandi and thousands of his followers consciously breaking the law of India which restricted the roads to the higher caste—by walking on these roads. When the high caste Hindus and the British soldiers beat them and killed them they did not retaliate, but prayed. They did this continuously day and night for fourteen months until the government gave in and the backbone of the caste system was broken. Are we worthy of the name Anarchist if we allow ourselves to be outside of the great movement of war resistance? If we have been strong in criticism of the evils of present day society and weak in living and pointing to proofs of the practicability of our ideal, here is the opportunity for this development.

Justice Hughes in his minority decision in the *MacIntosh* case stated that a man's conscience is above the law of the land in respect to promising to take part in war.

The religious journals might well reprint Lowell's idea of law observance. (The name of Lowell needs to be brought forth from the sycophancy of the Ex-President of Harvard.)

"Law is holy, ay, but what law? Is there nothing more divine

Than the patched up broils of Congress, venal, full of meat and wine?

Is there, say you, nothing higher—naught, God save us, that transcends

Laws of cotton texture wove by vulgar men for vulgar ends?

Law is holy; but not your law, ye who keep the tablets whole

While ye dash the Law in pieces, shatter it in life and soul."

COMRADE M. KORN

The *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* of Jan. 20, devotes over two columns to an irreparable loss sustained by the Anarchist Movement—the sudden deaths of our dear Comrade, Marie Goldsmid (M. Korn, nom de plume) and her aged mother, Sophie G—t.

The shocking news came by cable, sent to the F.A.S. by a group of comrades, from Paris, France, Marie's country by adoption, for over 40 years.

The cable was laconic: *M. Korn and mother died January 11, 11 o'clock.*

Sad and shocking, all this. As soon as details arrive we hope to tell our readers more about the radiant character and great personality that was Marie Korn-Goldsmid.

We are all overcome by grief.

REVOLUTIONARY SPAIN

By M. OLAY

Let me now lead you to some other considerations. Some of you may ask why, when practically the whole world is turning Communist (I refer to the countries turning left for the solution of the economic problems), the Spaniards alone should turn to Anarchism, to something entirely new in the realm of social experimentation? Why are they not leaning towards the Russian experiment, and start from where the Russians are now, eliminating the mistakes?

There are reasons. First, it is a question of national characteristics. The Spanish people are rather individualistic; at any rate, much more so than the German, the English or the Russian people. Then again, Spain has been traditionally the land of Anarchism, from the time of the First International. There is also a great anarchist background in the labor movement as well as among the intellectual classes.

I have told you about the anarchist influence in the field of labor. I shall not try to acquaint you with the anarchist influence upon the intellectual life of Spain. To begin, the Spanish intellectuals are not scared of the word "anarchism." They are all too familiar with its meaning. Many of the great Spanish intellectuals have been and are "on good terms" with Anarchism. Pio Baroja, probably the best contemporary writer in Spain, is an anarchist and always was, at least philosophically. This you can discover in his trilogy "The Struggle for Life" (now available in English) and particularly in the last volume "Red Dawn." Blasco Ibanez, the best known Spanish writer (although not the best) outside of Spain, portrays in his books anarchist characters as heroes, for example in "The Shadow of the Cathedral" and "La Barraca" (in the latter there is a vivid scene reminiscent of the so-called Black Hand Conspiracy of which I spoke earlier in this article). Martinez Anido (Azorin) was in his youth very sympathetic toward anarchism, whose writing are still being reprinted by the Anarchist press, and is today one of the best Spanish critics of literature, one of the important men of the Spanish Republic. Francisco Ferrer, the educator who founded the Modern School and who was shot in 1909 in Montjuich, despite violent protests on the part of the radical and intellectual world, was an anarchist. Francisco Pi y Margall, the President of the First Spanish Republic in the '70's—he resigned from the presidency—was practically an anarchist. His works today constitute one of the greatest literary monuments to social science and liberty. He discussed anarchism and anarchists very favorably. His followers today call themselves Federal Republicans, and their program is nearer to anarchism than to any other political, social creed I can think of. In passing, it may be mentioned that these Federal Republicans have ten representatives in the Constituent Assembly, and that they and four more of the other Republican factions were the only ones to vote against the deportation to Africa of 119 anarchists and a number of communists after the upheaval in the Upper Llobregat.

From what I have told you, it can be seen that in some respects at least, Spain is quite different from other countries and I can point out to you now two instances which show unmistakably the anarchist influence among the masses. Last February in the upper Llobregat in Catalonia, the workers in the mining districts, then on strike, realizing the futility of strikes to accomplish anything worth while, decided to go a step further. Arming themselves, they seized the arms depots, disarmed the so-called Home Guard, "Somatenes," searched the houses of the rich, the priests, the judges, etc., and took all the arms

they found from them; they captured the City Hall, burned some of the archives and bureaus, and proclaimed the social revolution. Fully armed, they posted guards around the towns, socialized the land, the mines, the stores of provisions; worked the mines in common and, in short, established and lived anarchist-communism for five days until the army with artillery and airplanes arrived from Barcelona.

Of course, these workers were anarchists or anarchist sympathizers for, being near Barcelona, they had for generations received an anarchist education and influence. It is not surprising then, that the workers of Catalonia having decided to make a revolution, should make an Anarchist revolution. The transport of deportees to Africa who were mentioned before, participated in this revolt.

It may then not be surprising that the proletariat of the cities should be anarchists or anarchistically inclined and act accordingly. But what about the peasantry, the great mass of the Spanish population? How will they take to anarchism?

The answer is given in the decision of a recent National Congress held in Madrid, in which the delegates from the Unions of 5,000,000 landless peasants adopted the resolutions demanding from the government the expropriation of the landed aristocracy, and that the land be turned over to the Syndicates or Labor Unions so that they might be worked and enjoyed in common.

If things are entrusted to a centralized government, they do not move fast. The bureaucrats are well provided and are prone to forget those who put them in power. Therefore, the workers of the land have, in quite a number of instances, not waited for the government to fulfill its promises but have gone ahead and done things a la the Russians. They have taken the land without waiting for orders. But with this difference: the Spanish peasants, when they took land (which unfortunately has not been a widespread practice) have not divided it, as they did in Russia, but have worked it in common. I have before me an illustrated paper showing pictures of the people in the town of Novalmoral de la Mata, in the heart of Extremadura, working the land in common—land which they had seized from the rich and had socialized. Under one of the pictures there is a caption, "The peasants of Novalmoral plowing with 180 teams the lands they have socialized." Another picture shows the workers coming back home, with the caption, "The return home after the first day of work in common, and free."

In all probability, these men still believe in private property on the whole, but the anarchist-communist seed had been so widely and deeply spread as to reach them and make them decide to work the land in common rather than to divide it as is usually done, following the practice of capitalist society, which practice the peasants are the last to cast off after a social or semi-social revolution.

This action on the part of the peasants in that backward Spanish region is the more noteworthy because the Spanish people are supposed to be very individualistic. No doubt they are, but their individualism is not that selfish, so-called "rugged individualistic" type which we see so pronounced in the U. S., for example; it is an individualism which applies mostly to personal behavior and conduct—an individualism that hates the authority of force. That is where anarchist-communism—the ideal society of the anarchists—comes in, combining, as it does, communism with individual freedom.

I know that many of you feel pessimistic as to the possibility of ultimate success of the system of society proposed by the anarcho-syndicalists. This is so because at heart we are all conservative,

mentally lazy, when it comes to thinking or devising new patterns of life. We like to follow the line of least resistance; even in planning a social revolution we don't dare venture into anything new, we don't dare try out something different. It is so much easier to follow what has already been tried, in this case the Russian model—in spite of its blunders, in spite of the fact that life under Bolshevism is not to our liking, in spite of ourselves.

The advanced proletariat of Spain is apparently willing and ready to seek a new way out of slavery and exploitation. They may fail. I don't know, nobody does. Naturally, they hope they will succeed. To be sure of success it is best to deviate the least possible from old-established forms of idea and action. The less one does, the less one ventures into new fields, the fewer the mistakes one may make. Only those who do nothing make no mistakes. Mistakes are inevitable, especially when trying something new, and I surely will not say that the Spanish anarchists will make none. The stage is set for a social revolution which will follow a new pattern, or rather a social revolution which if successful will make a new pattern for other countries to follow; and I sincerely hope that when the anarcho-syndicalist revolution in Spain is an accomplished fact the other European countries, including Russia will cast off their masters and establish libertarian communism likewise or something so nearly approaching it as will make its attainment possible in the very near future.

Kentucky Miners' Defense

Conditions under which union miners are being tried for murder conspiracy in connection with the 1931 coal strike and lockout in Harlan county, Kentucky, will be discussed at a dinner to be held by the Kentucky Miners' Defense and Relief Conference on Friday, January 27, in the Consumers' Co-operative Cafeteria, 49 East 25th Street.

Speakers include the Rev. William B. Spofford, editor of the Episcopal Weekly *The Witness*, who was a member of a party of clergymen which investigated the Kentucky strike situation last year and who testified before a Senate subcommittee on his observations; Jacob Panken, former municipal judge; A. J. Muste, head of Brookwood Labor College in Katonah, N. Y.; Jerome Count, New York attorney; and Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Eight of the men have so far been convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment in the Harlan cases, and twenty-two are yet to be tried for conspiracy alleged to have led to the killing of three company guards slain when three automobile-loads of guards clashed with miners defending the "union town" of Evarts. Some of the defendants admittedly took no part in the battle, according to Lawrence J. Seco, secretary of the defense conference, but were indicted after they had testified for the accused miners.

Reservations for the dinner may be had at \$1.00 each by addressing the Kentucky Miners' Defense and Relief Conference, P. O. Box 51, Station D, or by telephoning Bowling Green 9-9448. Guests will be seated at 7 P. M.

January 16, 1933

Lawrence J. Seco, Secretary,
Kentucky Miners' Defense Conference,
New York City.

My Dead Mr. Seco:

I have been authorized by the defendants in these mine murder cases and also by all the miners of Southeastern Kentucky to advise you that we are in no way connected with the National Miners Union or the International Labor Defense. This whole layout is nothing but the sneaking agitators of the

Communists and I must say that we have never had anything to do with any of these Communists at any time. May I also advise you that they have at no time contributed anything in any way for defense or relief of these men or their families. I am requested to tell you that we would not accept anything from the I.L.D. or the N.M.U. for we each of us know that these fellows are nothing but a bunch of sneak thieves of the meanest type.

May I advise you fellow workers that I have had letters from all the United States seeking to know if these fellows were defending these men and I have many letters telling me that those fellows have begged thousands of dollars to the credit of these miners but I beg to advise you that not a cent have they ever spent.

I am asking you to give this letter close consideration at the conference and if you can publish it in the press for every word is the truth. We miners here that are making a fight for life and liberty feel mighty bad at the way the communists have done. Truly I cannot see how a man or bunch of men and women could get lower than those fellows have gotten. It is known to the entire labor world that us men here are fighting one of the blackest frame-ups that has ever been perpetrated in the annals of history. Nothing before has ever become so black, never before has men been "kangarooed" in such a way, all respect for human rights has been thrown to the wind and let me say that it is one of the most disgraceful as well as the most pitiful sights that I have ever seen as I have been all over the country acting as a peacemaker and I am past 49 years of age. Never before have I seen or read anything like it—then to think that those rotten bloodsucking communists would steal the funds that should be used for the defense of these men and deliberately steal the food right out of starving women and babies mouths, is more than I can see.

You will please excuse me for being so plain but what I am writing is true and I am writing it in behalf of the Kentucky Miners defendants and at their request therefore I am plain and to the point. Again I will ask you to publish this letter and let's see if we can't put a stop to those fellows stealing the funds that should by right go for what they are given for, for no bolder piece of thievery has ever been carried on than those communists are now carrying on. And to set at rest for all times I must say that the United Mine Workers of America and the General Defense Committee are the only ones that is furnishing any defense or relief for the Kentucky Miners'.

Faternally yours,

(Signed) W. B. Jones,

For the Kentucky Mine Murder Defendants

* * *

The above letter sent to Lawrence Seco, has been sent to us and it is reprinted in full without comment, for comment is superfluous. H. K.

THE CLARION CLUB
327 EAST 9TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

Wednesday, January 25th and each Wednesday thereafter throughout the winter Mr. Morris Gordin, Author of "Utopia in Chains" will lecture on "Literature and Ideals"

* * *

Friday, January 27th and each Friday throughout the winter, Mr. Abba Gordin, Editor of the Clarion will lecture on "Interindividualism"

Lecture begins at 8:45 P. M.

A D M I S S I O N F R E E

FIFTEEN YEARS OF BOLSHEVIK RULE

The Russian Revolution of October - November, 1917, was the greatest event in the history of civilized man. Unlike other revolutions its object was not merely to abolish political oppression and despotism, nor merely to change the economic forms of life. The aim of the Russian Revolution was far greater and deeper: it was to create a new world and a new civilization.

The February Revolution had sounded the death knell of Tsarism and tyranny. But the October Revolution went much further. It demanded not only political liberty but also economic opportunity and equality. It realized that constitutional liberties and political rights were but an empty sound without the economic opportunity to enjoy life and its blessings. It is therefore that the October Revolution aimed at the abolition of the system of capitalism, together with its monopoly and wage slavery.

Fifteen years have now passed since that great historic event with its magnificent possibilities. What has become of Russia and to what extent have the aims and objects of the Revolution been accomplished?

It is sad to think of what has happened to the revolutionary masses of Russia during those fifteen years—to those masses who have striven and fought and suffered to make the Revolution a success. Today it is no longer possible to mistake the situation in Russia. There is no greater political despotism anywhere in the entire world: the country of over 150 millions of human beings is ruled by the will of an irresponsible political body—a mere handful of bureaucrats directed by the orders of a single autocrat in the Kremlin. Never in all the history of the world has any despot been more powerful than the Communist autocracy in Russia. For never before has any tyrant combined in his own hands all the political, economic and social power and resources of the country. Today a single autocrat in Russia, assisted by a few henchmen, holds absolute sway over the lives and fortunes of the entire people. If such a dictator were the best, noblest and wisest being in the world, his rule would be the greatest curse of mankind.

It is the result of that rule, the effect of dictatorship, that the last vestiges of liberty have disappeared from Russia. The vast country has become a prison, with everyone's soul and body at the command of his jailers, and where everyone is compelled to live and work solely for the greater glory of the dictatorship and sing the praises of his oppressors.

A prison is a poor place to build a new world in. The best cultural values of mankind, values attained to through centuries of struggle, have become annihilated in Russia. Human dignity, the sanctity of the person, the nobility of labor, individual initiative and free collective expression—all these have become *tabu* under the Bolshevik dictatorship, and the least evidence of them is crushed with an iron hand. Far from building a new world and creating higher ethical and human conceptions, the dictatorship has encouraged and cultivated the lowest instincts of man in order to strengthen its stranglehold upon the people. A country-wide system of spying and wholesale terror has turned father against son, brother against brother, and every man has become an Ishmaelite in his family. Far from abolishing classes, the dictatorship has multiplied a hundred times social privileges and distinctions, has set peasant against peasant, worker against worker, and each against all. It has turned the entire country into a vast chain-gang camp, with the

knout as its sole argument at home and Jesuitic chicanery abroad.

No wonder then that such spiritual barbarism has also brought with it industrial and economic disaster. No slave country has ever accomplished industrial development. Chain-gang labor is not productive. Therein is the true reason why the five-year plan has failed so miserably. All over Russia stand the great modern factories with the newest machinery built by the genius and skill of foreign brains. But that machinery is being neglected and broken, and the factories deserted—the native slaves refuse to produce under slave-drivers worse than the Tsar's. They demand food first before they will work, and they resent being robbed of the few rights that they had won by such hard struggle even from their former bourgeois masters.

But the dictatorship knows of no rights, even for the workers, and there is no food to give them. The great Ukraine, which had formerly supplied half the world with wheat and other grain, is suffering from famine. Not because of drought or any other unpreventable natural calamity. No, only because of the terroristic methods of the rules, because of their insane centralization and criminal inefficiency. By the hundred thousands the peasants have been slaughtered, driven to the wild forests of the Arctic Circle, their villages destroyed and possessions confiscated. The entire peasantry of Russia has been declared the "class enemy" of the proletariat and treated accordingly. Millions of them have been robbed of their last horse and driven into the *kolkhoses* (collective farms), to slave there without interest or incentive, ever under the whip of the Bolshevik master and spy.

The idea of State capitalism is triumphant in Russia. Its results are famine, destruction and degradation. No investments in foreign machinery and products, however great, can help Russia. No healthy, efficient industrial or agricultural development can take place except by the free and willing effort of the producers themselves. But such effort is impossible until the stranglehold of the dictatorship is loosened from the throat of the toilers.

It is, therefore, that the only real hope of Russia is in those few voices that still have the courage to defy the dictators and protest against their terror and despotism. Those men and women of revolutionary spirit who still hold high the banner of the great Revolution and who are fighting for the liberty and true welfare of the masses. The Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists, above all, who in spite of bestial persecution, bravely face exile, prison and even death, refuse to compromise with tyranny and persevere in their work of enlightening the masses about their only way of emancipation.

Sooner or later their voices will be heard through the breadth and length of the unfortunate country, and then will break the day when the million-headed sufferer will rise up in his full might to wipe all tyranny and slavery off the face of Russia.

The International Working Men's Association

The details of the persecutions and torture given in the bulletin of the association are almost unbelievable, but names and dates are given that confirm in every detail the statements made. Comrades often talk of capitalist madness but here we have "communist" madness that surpasses all belief. Comrades and sympathizers who are able to contribute to those suffering in Russian prisons are urged to forward same to Mark Mratchny, c/o Dr. Holtz, 1529 Pleasant Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal., U. S. A., or Albert de Jong, Haarlem, Holland. (Readers will please note the change of address in Europe for owing to the "unforeseen possibilities" in Germany the Secretariat of the I.W.M.A. has been forced to transfer its RUSSIAN AID FUND.) Ed.

A Little Encouragement

(Continued from page 4)

From Detroit, Michigan

Dear Comrades:

Thanks for sending the first number of FREEDOM. It looks like a real paper instead of something for the "family circle" as some of our anarchist press looks.

Enclosed is a check for \$3.00; two dollars for my own subscription and one dollar for 10 copies of FREEDOM for 2 weeks for the Group "Delo Truda" (a group of Russian Comrades). I will try all I can for the paper.

Comradely yours,

A. Zubrin

* * *

From Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Comrades:

At our last meeting the comrades of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme Group asked me to send you their greetings and wish you success in the undertaking. We shall help you as much as possible to make the FREEDOM a success.

You will find one dollar for the 10 copies of FREEDOM you sent me. Please send me 25 copies more of the first number.

With best wishes,

Sarah Dan, Secretary

* * *

From Boston, Mass.

Letters to you without an enclosure of value are valueless. And times in Boston are as the times in your State—bad. I received the 25 copies and sold and distributed some. I enclose \$1.00. You will, I hope hear from me often. I'll do my own bit.

Keep on for Freedom.

With best wishes,

H. Block

* * *

From Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Comrades:

Find enclosed \$1.00 for six months of FREEDOM. I just received my copy this week and read it all. It sure looks good to see something over the names of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman. I took Mother Earth for some nine years. I've been unemployed since July, 1929, but I feel I must support the free press. Yours for success.

J. H. Grigsby

IMPORTANT!

Readers and Comrades:

FREEDOM must have financial security in order to go on and to furrow its way as the weekly of our movement.

The main sources of financial maintenance of our publication shall be subscribers, subscribers, and SUBSCRIBERS. First in line among these should be the comrades and sympathizers, and not drift on as casual readers or as five-cents-a-copy customers. Our comrades and sympathizers must help us avoid as much as possible the expenses connected with sending letters, bills, appeals, etc.

Please do not delay, if you are heart and soul for an Anarchist weekly in English! Send your two dollars for a year's subscription before the next number of FREEDOM reaches you.

Please fill out and mail at once.

ROAD TO FREEDOM PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
219 Second Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Enclosed please find \$.....

for..... year's subscription of FREEDOM.

Name.....

Address.....

My Dear Harry:

Yesterday I received the first issue of FREEDOM and I want to congratulate you and the comrades on the splendid venture.

We are in urgent need of such a publication, as my mother would say, "God only knows we are." What prompts me to write you now, is not a formal congratulation and then forget all about it, but rather to offer my services to the new venture, as well as one or two suggestions which might be helpful for the success of the paper and the movement.

First, I believe it must be clear as to the general contents of the publication—that is—to whom is it going to cater? By that I mean will the paper appear weekly for the comrades, inform them as to what is going on in the movement here and there, split a few hairs, add a few announcements of some undertakings and leave it at that? Then, I am inclined to believe, it will be a waste of time and a failure. It will be precisely the same as it has been in the past with other periodicals.

We need a publication with propaganda directed to the average reader. It must deal with the daily topics of life, regardless as to how silly some of them may appear to us. The public is fed on them and we must bring to their attention our viewpoint. For instance, we must discuss such questions as reparations, the zigzagging prohibition hullabaloo, the various taxes that are being piled upon the people, the heartless cutting of wages. Also to fearlessly show up the crooked politicians, regardless of what color they be, and the philanthropist who is attempting to solve the depression issue by benevolence. These and many other topics come up daily as life goes on. To be sure it must not be done by long-winded articles, which the average reader cannot digest, but by short, snappy paragraphs in a popular language. This will take root, bear fruit and bring us the desired results. It would be advisable to have a column of humor (even Anarchists laugh once in a while . . .) a short story, a poem even if it is reprinted from the works of William Morris, Wilde,

Voltaire de Cleyre, Whitman and others; in short, a real Anarchist propaganda weekly (not weakly) paper dedicated to the public.

How about the comrades? Well, we could have a quarterly review supplement wherein the means and ways of our movement may be discussed as well as theoretical differences thrashed out.

Now comes the second and very important feature of the publication—circulation. To mail copies of the publication to the comrades only, where they remain, is simply keeping up a wild dance in the enchanted circle. We must seek new recruits for our ranks to strengthen our "feeble band, our few." For this purpose, it is advisable to form circulation committees of comrades who would work exclusively for as wide a circulation as possible. I hardly think we have today comrades who would sell on the streets our publications as we did 35 years ago in London with the "Arbeiter Freund" and "Freedom," but perhaps it could be done in a more modern way.

The comrades everywhere should be asked to send in names and addresses of prospective readers in their localities to whom, in their judgment the FREEDOM may be sent. They will receive it for four weeks and then the comrade may call upon such prospects and see what can be accomplished. This may help create new connections, establish a comradely spirit and above all an understanding of Anarchism and its philosophy. The comrade may succeed in getting a subscription and a contribution.

Other means and ways for wider circulation could be found, but by all means the publication must not remain in the hands of comrades only.

In conclusion: let us have a weekly paper for the average person, to enlighten him as much as possible on life's daily problems and their solutions through Anarchist thinking and, it may reach those to whom it is dedicated.

Wishing you every success, I am, as ever,

Comradely yours,

Dorchester, Mass.

Thomas B. Eyges

P. S. Please accept my small contribution

DISCUSSIONS, LECTURES & MEETINGS

LOS ANGELES, AT 8:30

Libertarian Forum, 420 N. Soto St., Mondays;
Confederate Libertarian Forum, 224 South
Spring, Thursdays
Russian Progressive Club, 1785 East First
Street. Open evenings.

Libertarian Center, Detroit, at 7:30 P.M.
2105 Third Street Cor. Elizabeth St.
A place to exchange thoughts intelligently

Sunday, Jan. 29, 1933—JOSEPH COHEN
The Possibilities of Anarchism in the Near Future

FREE SOCIETY FORUM
1241 N. California Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
Sunday, January 29, 8:00 P. M.
DR. G. HEINER—Art and Radicalism

WANTED

A comrade, sympathizer or a friendly reader to make a gift of a typewriter, which is sorely needed in the office of FREEDOM. Communicate with us and we will take on our own shoulders the problem of transportation and any possible repairs. Reply—Management, FREEDOM, 219 Second Avenue, New York, N. Y.

HELP WANTED

Lots to do around FREEDOM in the line of typing, filing, mailing and soliciting subscriptions. Those who have time to spare are requested to enlist their services. FREEDOM Management, 219 Second Avenue, New York.

AN IMPRESSIVE EVENT OF THE SEASON

Comrades, Sympathizers and Friends: Adherents of Libertarian Education and Readers of FREEDOM, will gather

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, FEBRUARY 12, AT 2:45

(in the Rand School Auditorium)

7 EAST 15TH STREET, NEW YORK

for the

DRAMATIC MATINEE AND MUSICALS

Arranged by The MODERN SCHOOL of Stelton and FREEDOM.

An array of good talent will participate in a well-balanced program, and all who attend are assured an esthetic and spiritual afternoon. All the proceeds will go for FREEDOM and The MODERN SCHOOL. Details of program will be announced shortly. Admission Fifty Cents. No reserved seats. Please keep date open.